CHINA WEEKLY

REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

EDITORIAL

IS THERE ENOUGH FOOD?

LAND REFORM BEGINS

TAO WEI-LIEN

CHINA'S POLITICAL PARTIES

WILLIAM STEINHAUS

Full text of the ORGANIC LAW of the CHINESE PPCC

OCTOBER 22, 1949

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Index for October 22, 1949

Editorial Paragraphs

Is There Enough Food? 108
Another Hole In The Blockade 110

Special Articles

Land Reform Begins In The Newly Liberated Area.. *Tao Wei-lien* 111
Reform Of The Chinese Language 113
Chinese Political Parties—I ..... *William Steinhaus* 114

Economic Section

The Week's Business 122

Departments

Letters From The People 107
25 Years Ago 110
News Of The Week 117
What Chinese Papers Say 119
What Chinese Magazines Say 120
In US Magazines 121
The Review's English Lesson XCXII ..... Back Cover

Features

The Organic Law Of The Chinese PPCC 123

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LETTERS From The People

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US RECOGNITION

To The Editor:

Official US broadcasts taking up the question of possible US recognition of the Chinese People's Republic have brought forth three conditions for recognition: 1) the government seeking recognition must be able to control the territory of the country it represents 2) it must be able to fulfill its international obligations and give evidence of protection for foreigners 3) it must have the support of the people which it claims to represent.

The US, it seems to this reader, is on pretty shaky ground here in continuing its present recognition of the KMT for its own official statements from State Department officials and Army representatives have openly stated that the KMT was not able to satisfy conditions (1) and (3). As for condition (2) this reader remembers clearly that during the last days before Shanghai's liberation, it was the KMT army which occupied foreign residences and the property of foreign religious groups and even willfully and unnecessarily destroyed foreign property in the Hungjao Road area.

More and more the US is beginning to act like a spoiled baby. Just because the policy it wanted in China was rejected by the majority of the Chinese people, it is getting mad at the Chinese people and dragging up all kinds of herrings to evade the real issue of recognition. But the people of China must realize that Truman, and the reactionaries in power will recognize the Chinese People's Government when and if it is clear to this US ruling clique that the US stands to gain in terms of the profits of its businessmen by such recognition, and only with this realization will the US take this step.

J. V. K.

Shanghai
October 15, 1949.

MATERIALISM WINS

To The Editor:

This is my first letter to you. It is always a great desire of a reader to send his own ideas to a magazine he admires. The subject I have chosen to write about is Materialism vs. Spiritualism.

Materialism, or the materialistic interpretation of history is scientific and modern. Its principles meet the needs of the people. But spiritualism is old and religious, based on faith and worship, and is used by dictators as a means to control and enslave people. The facts tell us that it is only a lie. The first emperor of the Chin Dynasty was deeply confident that his regime would be inherited by his descendants for thousands of years. But after one generation in the hands of his son his great hope perished. Mussolini wanted to control Italy with fascism for one thousand years; but after less than 21 years he was overthrown. The Nazi army was thought by themselves to be

(Continued on page 124)

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IS THERE ENOUGH FOOD?

EVER since the liberation of the more heavily populated central and coastal areas of the country, there has been speculation—and worry—in many circles over China's future food prospects. Without foreign aid, such as the KMT enjoyed through UNRRA and ECA, it is often argued, the new government will find it difficult if not impossible to feed the people.

In the north, it is said, food is frequently in surplus, but in the south there are almost regular shortages. With foreign aid cut off there may well be famine, it is reasoned. The statement usually put forth to clinch this argument is that China suffers from chronic over-population and that unless some method of coping with this problem is found no government, regardless of how well intentioned, can feed the people.

While there is certainly an element of truth in the statement that China could easily use more food than she has produced during the past several decades, we suspect that the food problem may not be as difficult of solution as many people claim. If one examines the over-population "theory" carefully, it will be seen that its acceptance by the public as a whole might have in the past been highly desirable from a certain political point of view.

For instance, in the days of the KMT, when famine was a frequent visitor, much of the public resentment against the government because of the food shortage could be turned off into harmless channels by proclaiming that there simply was not enough food produced internally to feed the too many mouths in the country. This theory may thus have helped the government excuse its failure to undertake constructive works, such as dike repair and—more important—helped cover up officialdom's rotten practices such as levying and hoarding excessive amounts of grain until it spoiled, squeezing money appropriated for agricultural improvements, and in other ways acting in a manner calculated to make a scarce commodity even scarcer.

This explanation becomes more likely when one recalls that in the past each serious famine served mainly to sparkplug renewed campaigns for foreign aid and all sorts of theoretical ideas of solving the problem via reduction of the population. Rarely did such catastrophes bring forth any real or practical measures, such as aiding the farmers in rebuilding of dikes, plans for reforestation, and so on.

It can be shown, we believe, that in an average year really vast amounts of food have been wasted. There have been many documented stories—a number of which have appeared in the *Review*—giving details of foreign and domestic food rotting in godowns because of the greed of officials or merchants who wished to squeeze the last possible cent out of a market made tight by artificial means. There have been similar stories of grain spoiling because of lack of transportation from the growing areas to the metropolitan centers, while any chance traveler through the interior has seen the costly and inefficient methods of transport, such as by human carrier, which are commonly used.

How many times have the people of Shanghai observed that just before the new rice or wheat crop was due, the market suddenly became swamped with spoiled or semi-spoiled grain which had been held until the last minute by hoarders? Even individual residents, conditioned by the yearly shortage, hoarded to the best of their ability. Shanghai's recent typhoon, which unexpectedly flooded large areas of the city, brought out a surprising quantity of rice as every housewife and merchant hauled his foodstuffs and other goods out to dry on the sidewalks once the water receded. One may well wonder just how much food is required for this constant stockpile against a rainy day and just how much effect the perpetual withholding of this food from the market has in aggravating the overall shortage.

* * *

NOW that this area of China has been liberated, what is the situation? We have no UNRRA, no ECA. Even private shipments of food cannot enter because of the Nationalist blockade of the coast. Additionally, the retreating KMT looted the area of all food and other goods which it could carry and destroyed enormous quantities which it was forced to leave behind. On top of it all, we have had the worst flood in 30 years, the damage from which was compounded by a record typhoon tide which came while the flood was still at full flow.

Presumably, we should be upon the brink of starvation. But what has happened? The rice price has been stabilized for about the first time since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. True, we had a rapid rise shortly after the liberation, but since that rise, which was rather small potatoes when compared with the constant skyrocketing during the days of the KMT, the price has been relatively level.

The only possible answer is that the new regime is succeeding in doing what the Kuomintang could never manage: Move the food from the countryside to the cities quickly and without any sticking to official fingers and with little if any falling into the hands of speculators.

What of the future, though? With the situation fast returning to conditions comparable to an average good, prewar year, can we expect

even further improvements? Indications are that this is a most likely development.

In Manchuria, the largest food surplus area, great efforts are reported underway to extend the land under cultivation and latest information indicates that soon the total area will exceed that cultivated during the best days of the Japanese occupation.

In both north and south Kiangsu, areas which suffered greatly in the fighting during the past few years, efforts are being made to get land back into production. The region south of Ihsin, in south Kiangsu, formerly known as the "bread-basket" of the area, is being put under the plow once again. Some 50,000 farmers have been enlisted to expedite the work on a 200,000 mow section of fertile soil.

From north Kiangsu come similar reports. Land capable of accomodating some 500,000 refugees is being reclaimed as fast as possible and the authorities are doing their utmost to persuade refugees in Shanghai and other cities to return to the country. A recent government survey revealed that there are 1,903,791 mow which can be reclaimed. About half is ready for immediate reclamation, while the rest needs more preliminary work before it can be settled.

In the northwestern district of Shansi province the people of 23 hsien are reported busily extending the area of their operations through the construction of water conservation projects. Already, it is reported, they have brought an additional 1,100,000 mow under cultivation this year.

This search for additional land is of course only part of the problem. Methods are needed to make the already cultivated land produce more and better crops. Indications are that here again some progress is being made. It is perhaps in this field that the government's efforts are most notable in that it is able to solve some of the old social problems which formerly prevented progress.

The importance of regional meetings to discuss the problems and to seek both practical suggestions and the active help of the farmers themselves can hardly be overestimated. One such meeting, called by the food bureau of the South Kiangsu Administrative Office, recently took place. It was attended by more than 70 representatives from different districts who thrashed out their various problems and decided upon methods of procedure.

In Tientsin it is reported that in cooperation with the local Hsien Production Promotion Association's activities, the People's Bank branch is extending record sums as agricultural loans. In August it advanced JMP150,000,000 to farmers in the city's suburbs which was sufficient for the purchase of 800,000 catties of wheat seeds and 150,000 catties of foodstuffs. In the May-July period, it was reported, loans had been extended for the purchase of bean cakes and other fertilizers.

Reports from Peking state that in order to develop trade between the cities and the countryside and to help the farmers solve their difficulties in exchanging their food for manufactured products when they come to town, all major North China cities, such as Peking, Shihchiachuang, Kalgan, and Taiyuan, are establishing Farmers' Service Stations where such exchanges can be carried out. These stations provide cheap lodging and food and, through their business offices, help the farmer sell his products so that he won't, as was so often the case in the past, be cheated by the city slickers.

There is another aspect to the problem. When, despite precautions, natural calamities befall the farmers, such as flood or drought, or insect or plant disease epidemics, something has to be done to aid the farmers through the difficult period. On September 6 the North China authorities announced tax reductions running from 20 percent to full exemption for those areas affected by this summer's floods. Farmers losing from 20 to 30 percent of their crop get a 20 percent tax reduction, and so on up. However, those farmers who suffered losses of more than 70 percent get full exemption. In the case of this latter category, it is particularly interesting to note that the authorities apparently believe the farmer comes before the state. Unlike the KMT, they do not try to make him pay his tax even if it means taking the entire crop, plus, sometimes, his seed for the next year.

* * *

FROM all indications it would appear that very

shortly we shall be able to determine the degree of truth which is contained in the standard explanation of food shortage. Quite possibly it will turn out that China is not nearly so short of food as we have always been led to believe. In fact, it seems to us that already there is evidence pointing in this direction. Thus, it may well develop that China does have enough food and that the old explanation of over-population has all along been a deliberately misleading political slogan of the KMT rather than a statement of fact.

ANOTHER HOLE IN BLOCKADE

WITH the fall of Canton the KMT's blockade of the coast becomes even less effective. From now on both import and export goods, plus travelers, can enter and leave this country via Canton and Hongkong.

Reports from Hongkong indicate that British businessmen are all set to resume relations with Canton as soon as they receive the "green light" from the new authorities. Both plane and steamship companies are said eager for the continuance of business.

Meanwhile, in Shanghai the liberation of Canton and the reaching of the Kowloon-Kwangtung border by advance units of the PLA were viewed as optimistic signs. Not only will it now be possible to ship imports and exports via Hongkong without any fear of KMT intervention, but the establishing of a land link with Hongkong means that Shanghai merchants can make the trip to Hongkong much more quickly and easily than was the case in the past.

Thus, one more hole has been punched in the KMT blockade. Actually, as things now stand, the blockade is largely ineffective since several foreign ships have managed to enter and leave the port of Shanghai, carrying cargo, mail, and passengers. It has more or less effectively interrupted the normal coastal trade of junks and other local craft, but expansion of internal waterway and rail facilities have largely offset this.

The question now arises as to how long the foreign powers, especially America and Britain, will continue to grant de facto recognition to a blockade which day by day comes closer to a form of piracy. Surely, the maintaining of a so-called blockade, the value of which is largely of a nuisance nature, by a fast disintegrating regime maintaining a precarious control over only a fraction of the country can scarcely be considered a legal act by a sovereign government.

Better Hurry!

Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has announced that US Ambassador-at-large Philip Jessup was planning to come to China for an "on the spot" study of the China situation.—*Press dispatch from Washington.*

Perhaps a visit to Hongkong will do. At least that will be a good place to interview a lot of people who have recently visited China.

25 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

De Jure and De Facto Recognition

October 18, 1924.

. . . The political difference between de jure recognition and de facto recognition is very considerable, and it is hardly to be expected that there should exist any active fostering of trade or any cordial relationships between two countries when the Government of one had merely recognized de facto the Government of the other. As a recent writer to the press has pointed out, 'It is rather hard to see what the recognition of a new Government as de jure adds to recognition as de facto, unless it be the judgement of the recognizing Power that no adverse claim remains outstanding, or one which need be seriously regarded for any practical purpose.' It is in that assurance and in the guaranty implicit in it—that we have definitely abandoned our former policy of subsidizing attempts to overthrow the Soviet Government of Russia—that the chief value of our recent de jure recognition seems to lie. . . .

From:—"Recognition in International Law," reprinted from the London Economist.

Anti-Opium Campaigns

An anti-opium demonstration was held in Kiukiang last Wednesday. About 8,000 people joined the street parade. The demonstrators were led by General Wu Ching-piao, Defence Commissioner of Kiukiang and a Christian, who walked with the procession through the streets.

Under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A.'s in Hankow and Wuchang, an anti-opium campaign will be held on October 10th, the anniversary of the Republic. Previous public meetings have been held, but the 10th of October will witness a city-wide demonstration.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

The Situation in Europe

As was to have been expected, the British Government flatly rejected Chancellor Hitler's peace proposals and the European war is now on in real earnest. The rejection was announced by Prime Minister Chamberlain in a statement before the House of Commons on October 12. Hitler's proposals, he said, amounted to a demand for recognition of his conquests and of his right to do as he pleases with the conquered. . . .

It will be noted that the British Premier failed to indicate "concretely" what he meant by "appropriate" and "concrete" guarantees, but it is not difficult to guess what was meant. Guarantees are wanted that Nazi Germany will not endeavor to satisfy her territorial ambitions at the expense of Britain and France. In that respect, Britain has never felt secure, and the present war is intended to remove this source of insecurity. It would have been different had Hitler gone through with his earlier plan to satisfy Germany's need for "vital space" at the expense of Soviet Russia. Britain and France would then quite likely have joined the German Fuehrer in tearing apart the juicy Russian pie. . . .

Britain is trying to keep a door open for future deals with Soviet Russia. Evidence of this was the signature of a trade agreement between London and Moscow . . . London knows full well that Stalin, when the time for a choice comes, will not want to come down on the losing side in the war. Chamberlain aims to use the Stalin government and then throw it away like a squeezed lemon. . . .

From:—"War Begins in Ernest Following Chamberlain's Rejection of Hitler's Peace Offer."

US Invests in South America

President Roosevelt announced October 14 that the US Government is considering the utilization of the nation's huge gold supply for direct investments in the Latin American Republics to aid in the reorganization of their banking systems, United Press reported.

He said the project had been under consideration for three years and had almost reached the stage of negotiations with one unnamed country.

Land Reform Begins in the Newly Liberated Areas

Tao Wei-lien

WITH the liberation of the Central and East China areas now several months past, the task of land reform in this vast region is getting under way. While it is perhaps a bit too early to assess the program or to attempt any definitive analysis of the progress to date, it is of interest to review some of the more recent developments.

It is not necessarily the statistics or the concrete facts of the program which interest us primarily at this point. What does interest us are the methods employed by the People's forces in tackling this problem, since it is precisely in this field that the Communists have had the most experience and in which they have achieved their greatest successes.

When the large cities of Nanking, Wusih, Soochow, Hangchow, Shanghai, and Hankow were liberated last spring, it was commonly supposed that land reform would be carried out speedily and that the People's government would thus redeem its oft-made promises to the peasants by giving them the benefits which farmers in the old Liberated Areas have long enjoyed.

However, this did not prove to be the case and many people were left scratching their heads in bewilderment. This confusion increased when the authorities announced that the reforms to be carried out in the newly liberated rural areas were to be mild at first and that, for the time being, there would be no wholesale redistribution of the land.

It was not until some time after the liberation of this area that the people in Shanghai began to understand just what the Communists had in mind. Perhaps one of the first indications of how land reform worked was contained in the popular opera "Pai Mao Nu" which played to capacity audiences for some weeks in Shanghai.

Oppressive Landlord

In that play, one of the central characters was a ruthless landlord who oppressed the villagers. When the area was liberated, the farmers were overjoyed since they expected that the People's Liberation Army would make short work of the landlord and that all previous wrongs would be righted. However, these farmers were as surprised as were the people of this area just after the liberation when the PLA did no such thing.

As soon as order was restored and the situation brought under control, the Communist political worker who had accompanied the troops which liberated the area began to make attempts to educate the villagers and farmers, telling them about the principles for which the People's forces stood, telling them to organize themselves, and so on. The idea which the political worker tried to put across was that the real strength of the new force in China lay with the common people, in this case the farmers.

The farmers in "Pai Mao Nu" at first didn't know what to make of this. They had expected an avenging force to step in and set things right, but the new force instead began to tell them that the correcting of conditions was their problem and that they must organize so that they could do such things for themselves.

Farmers Bewildered

The audience saw depicted most graphically the consternation with which this idea was at first received. The farmers just didn't know how to proceed. With the helpful guidance of the political worker the farmers began to hold meetings. After they had become used to such a procedure and had gained a little confidence they began to discuss what to do with the landlord. However, long years of brutal oppression had taught them to be careful and at first they were even hesitant to suggest any course of action which they thought might provoke the landlord.

Then, just when it seemed that the farmers were about to act against the landlord, the latter sent his agent to intimidate some of the peasants. This move succeeded for the time being in that the nebulous plans for action against the oppressor were squelched. The agent had told the farmers that an evil spirit which inhabited a nearby temple would wreck its vengeance upon them if they made any move against the landlord. This threat was quite enough and the superstitous peasants lost heart.

At this point the political worker had to begin all over again, painstakingly explaining to the peasants that the real strength of the country rested with the masses and that no matter how tough the landlord might appear, they, collectively, were quite capable of handling him.

Finally, the peasants once more got up their courage and summoned the landlord to a meeting of the entire village. At first the affair did not seem to go so well until one woman who had suffered grievously at the landlord's hands began the accusation. Soon all the farmers joined in and the landlord was tried and adjudged guilty of a long list of crimes against his tenants.

By this time the farmers were fully aroused and, confident in their new found strength, were on the point of mobbing the landlord and killing him on the spot. At this juncture the political worker intervened and told the peasants that they must respect the law. The landlord had been tried and found guilty by the people of a crime (rape) which automatically carried the death penalty. Therefore, he would be executed, not by mob violence, but by the state.

While some of the people who viewed "Pai Mao Nu" saw it only as a play concerned with social conditions and one in which justice triumphed, it was far more than that. Actually it was a course of instruction. It pictured exactly how the farmers themselves—not the political workers or the PLA—righted past wrongs and established the basis for real grass roots democracy in the village.

It was particularly interesting to observe that all during the proceedings the PLA soldiers were scarcely in evidence. They came in and accomplished the tasks assigned them, which were driving off the KMT and restoring peace and order, after which the job of straightening up affairs was left to the political worker. Then, later when the farmers had finally conducted their trial and found the landlord guilty, the PLA reappeared to take charge of the condemned prisoner and, probably, carried out the execution order.

At no time did the soldiers interfere in the proceedings. Presumably, though, they were on call and could have been summoned if an emergency had arisen, such as if the landlord (who apparently possessed the only arms in the village) had gathered his henchmen and tried to fight it out with the unarmed farmers.

* * *

Following Same Pattern

FROM what we hear of the progress toward land reform in the countryside in this area, it is following much the same pattern as described in "Pai Mao Nu." in the the farmers are carrying out the righting of old wrongs and actually emancipating themselves with, of course, guidance and advice from the political cadres. The PLA, it appears, plays the same role as in the opera, exercising its power only when it becomes necessary to cope with the new style bandit gangs which have sprung up here and there in the countryside.

In this area there has been some trouble with bandits in Chekiang province along the Chientang River, the Fuchunkiang River, and along the Chekiang-Kiangsi Highway. The trouble began shortly after the liberation since the energies of the new authorities were concentrated in the cities and the countryside was not thoroughly occupied. Scattered groups of KMT soldiery roamed the rural areas and, in league with local landlords and racketeers, carried on disruptive activities such as interfering with communications, sabotaging attempts to organize the farmers

and, in some instances, even murdering People's government officials.

In July the PLA organized a bandit suppression corps and at the time of writing most of the local bandits have been eliminated by military means. A total of 150 different bandit groups have been wiped out in the aforementioned areas. Thus, when the landlords, with the help of other elements, succeeded in using armed force to keep the peasants down, the PLA came into the picture. Similar conditions have existed or still exist in other scattered areas, according to reports available here. However, as in Chekiang the PLA has been called upon to restore peace and order and the work of peasant education and organization is again getting under way.

In Sungkiang, a town about 25 miles southwest of Shanghai, a conference of farmers' delegates has just been concluded. The delegates, some 350 strong, represented the 300,000 farmers in the hsien and laid the foundation for future work among the peasants. Among the proposals passed at the meeting were ones calling for the organization of a majority of the farmers in the hsien into the association during the coming year, the wiping out of bandit and special service elements left in the area through education and arming of the farmers, developing production, austerity, and mutual help and the reduction of interest rates and other forms of feudalistic exploitation.

In the villages along the railway between Shanghai and Nanking, where the problem of armed resistance from the landlords has pretty well been overcome, greater progress has been made. In the special commissioner's district of Changchow, peasants' associations have been established in 559 villages with a total membership of 90,000 farmers.

Organization Not Easy

The organization of associations in these areas, however, was not easy since the peasants, long deprived of all democratic rights and accustomed to close supervision from above, were hesitant in organizing themselves. However, it is reported, the awakening of the peasants was made possible through the struggles, organized by the political workers and democratic elements in the villages, against the landlords and their "running dogs."

Reports from this area further point out that the rich peasants and all those who have had past connections with reactionary and undesirable elements were not admitted to the peasants' associations which, by their very nature, are established to represent the interests of the poor and middle-class peasants, who constitute the vast majority of the population.

The most detailed accounts of this campaign in the countryside come from Wusih where the Wusih Rural Service Corps, numbering more than 1,000 cadre members, has been dispatched into the surrounding countryside to organize the farmers and help the latter get rid of feudal elements.

Landlords Spread Rumors

As soon as the members of the corps arrived in the rural areas, the landlords, aided by the local riff-raff, began to spread rumors and resort to other activities calculated to undermine the relations between the workers and peasants. In Pin Hu hsien, for instance, the rumor was circulated that the members of the Corps were "men who roam the country and feed on its richness." They were pictured as stragglers who were looking for anything they could lay their hands upon and who would later attempt to confiscate the people's wealth once they had located it.

In Mei Tsun hsien it was rumored that the Corps had been sent to supervize the daily life of the population who "will not be permitted to live in comfort and that people found enjoying good living will have to share their things with members of the Corps."

However, it was reported, the rumors were soon proved groundless when the Corps members behaved themselves and refrained from interfering in the daily activities of the peasants. On the other hand, it wasn't all smooth sailing in this hsien as the Corps members are reported to have made some mistakes in the beginning. When they first arrived in the area they established their living quarters in the home of a local landlord. This proved to be an error since the peasants, accustomed to seeing outside officials staying with the landlord during visits to the village, were immediately scared of the new arrivals. The mistake was corrected when the Corps members moved into a slum area.

As the farmers in "Pai Mao Nu" expected the new authorities to carry out land reform from the top down and hand them a changed-for-the-better situation on a platter, so the peasants in some of the hsiens in the Wusih area began to ask for favors once they became convinced that the cadre members really had come to help them. This form of reliance upon authority, a feudal concept, carefully nurtured by the KMT and previous regimes, was especially difficult to combat since the landlords and their agents exploited it for all it was worth. The peasants, egged on by the agents of the landlords, would say, in effect: "You say you have come to help us. There is not enough food, there is not enough cloth. Give us some."

Thus for some time the workers were met everywhere by peasants with tales of woe and suffering. A careful study was made of the situation and a widespread educational campaign launched among the farmers. Publicity was given to the need for self-help, mutual assistance, economy, increased production, and auxiliary employment.

Meanwhile efforts were exerted to raise the political consciousness of the peasants. Collective training was provided in different areas, and the peasants were made to realize that having come into their own, they should be united in their efforts to overthrow feudal landlords and local bullies and to build up a new rural society of their own.

By mid-September progress had reached the point where it was decided to call a mass meeting of peasants' delegates in Wusih. During the session the delegates were given every encouragement by party and government leaders, treated as honored guests, and made to realize that they had come into a new position as masters of their own fate.

Conference Brought Results

Following the conclusion of the Wusih conference widespread publicity was given throughout the rural areas to the conference and its results. Through the spontaneous efforts of the farmers, preparatory committees for peasants' unions were formed throughout the areas. Where former unions were controlled by feudal influences (and there were many of them) efforts were made to expel such influences. Another noticeable development recently has been the increasing number of women in various villages who take an active hand in the work of organization of unions.

Thus, slowly but surely, the peasants are organizing themselves and realizing the strength which this organization gives them. In some areas, it is reported, the farmers are already approaching the stage attained by the farmers in "Pai Mao Nu" at the end of the play when they rose up against the local landlord.

In the Feihsi district of Anhwei (near Hofei) the farmers have begun to settle accounts with bad landlords. One Sung Teh-hsiang was brought before a meeting of the villagers, and when he admitted his misdeeds, was fined and made to apologize.

Sung was described as the owner of 18 mow of land and 30 straw houses, in addition to several rice and cotton shops. Recently Sung wanted to take on a concubine and

also wanted to escape the effect of a forthcoming reduction of land rental so he ordered his tenants to pay their rent in advance before the time when the reductions were to go into effect.

One farmer was unable to pay the rent so Sung had the tenant's house pulled down while the latter was away on an errand. When the tenant returned, he discovered that not only did he have no house, but that the bricks, wood, and other materials had been sold by Sung to pay the rent.

The tenant protested to the Rural Work Corps who called a mediation meeting between Sung and his tenant. Sung refused to come to any agreement so a full meeting of the villagers was called and the entire body passed judgment and sentence upon Sung who was made to build two houses for the tenant, and to pay one and a half piculs of rice as damages to the tenant's kitchen utensils which were destroyed during the wrecking of the house.

Landlord Sent To Jail

In Chienteh hsien, near Hangchow, a similar case took place recently. A local landlord named Cheng Kuoliang, who was also the pao chief, was sentenced to jail. Fifteen years ago, it was charged, before he became a KMT official, Cheng had only 19 mow of land but through official corruption and exploitation of his neighbors, he acquired 91 mow of farmland and 228 mow of grave mound (grazing) land. In addition, he had beaten and permanently injured four farmers and had sent two others to their deaths.

The village meeting which tried Cheng was attended by 1,600 peasants. Cheng got one year in jail and was deprived of his civil rights for two years. In addition all of his property, except for a portion necessary for the support of his family was confiscated.

Thus it can be seen that gradual progress is being made in the newly liberated rural areas. It has been argued by some impatient people that the process is too slow, that a better method would have been for the authorities to have come in with troops and reorganized the whole social system in the beginning instead of following the slow—and sometimes discouraging—policy of educating the farmers and waiting until the latter are sufficiently enlightened and well enough organized to do the job themselves. Much valuable time, it is claimed, would have been saved and, what's more, many mistakes made by the farmers in their first hesitant steps would have been avoided.

Farmers Must Learn

However, most observers have come around to the view—long held by the Communists—that the best method despite its slowness and its likelihood of false steps in the initial period, is for the farmers themselves to do the job of organizing, with the government cadres serving merely as advisers who will be on hand to help and, whenever possible, guide the farmers away from pitfalls into which their inexperience might lead them.

Such a system, it can be shown, in the long run pays dividends. Steeped in the feudal tradition, the farmers are great respectors of authority handed down from above. If the PLA comes in and merely supplants the old KMT-gentry class as rulers, no real progress in changing the people will have been made even though the latter's living conditions may have been improved.

In order to get wholehearted cooperation, which can only come from real understanding, it is necessary for the people to make the decisions themselves and to learn to rely upon their own collective strength. Through the years the Communists have found that only when the peasants are fully enlightened can they be relied upon for support. The wisdom of this policy has long been evident, and, with the last days of the KMT in sight, it becomes more so.

Reform of Chinese Language

WHILE it has been recognized for many years that some method of simplifying the Chinese language had to be found if the goal of 100 percent literacy was to be achieved without too great cost in time and money, it is only in recent months that the movement for "reforming" the language has picked up momentum.

Actually the issue is an old one, but it was not until the matter was taken up by the Chinese Communists, who were quick to appreciate its merits, that concrete progress was achieved. Various experiments were reportedly tried in the "old" Communist areas, including the publication at one time in Yenan of a newspaper written in romanized or latinized script instead of the traditional characters.

Although no exact information is available at the moment as to the exact work accomplished, various groups have been working on the problem since the liberation of North China, while last week it was announced that the Chinese Language Reform Association had its inaugural meeting in Peking.

The meeting, attended by more than 100 delegates representing overseas Chinese, minority races, and the different social strata of the people, was addressed by Mr. Wu Yu-chang, chairman of the Association and a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, who listed five tasks facing the group. They are:

1) To find a system for the latinization of the Chinese language and to simplify the Chinese characters.

2) To find a unified dialect for China on the basis of the present Northern Dialect.

3) To help the national minorities in China to reform their language or to create a language.

4) To make experiments on language reform in cooperation with the government.

5) To publicize the need for language reform so that intellectuals and the people will come to understand the need.

Although many progressive groups and individuals have long advocated varying methods of simplifying the written language, there has in the past been bitter opposition from a large number of the country's educated classes. Especially loud have been the arguments advanced opposing romanization which, it was claimed, would mean a complete break with the cultural past in that future scholars would not be able to read the old books.

The proponents of radical change have labeled such arguments as excuses designed to hide the fact that those objecting were doing so because of personal or social reasons. It of course goes without saying that landlords and other members of the gentry class have traditionally resisted any simplification which would put such a valuable tool as the written language in the hands of the peasants.

It is thus significant that the first point enumerated by the chairman envisioned the eventual romanization of the language, thus indicating the group's intention of making a complete break with the past and that it is not just interested in the many proposals previously and currently being made for reform through simplification of the construction of the characters rathers than thorough complete discarding of the old form of writing.

There are several different schools of thought as to how the romanization should be undertaken. The best known is the old Wade system which has been used for many years by foreign students of Chinese and which has been the generally accepted method of romanizing the names of persons and places. Another system is the one used for the romanization of the name of the *Liberation Daily*, the official newspaper. Under the Wade system, it would become *Chieh Fang Jih Pao*, while the system used by the paper itself results in *Giefang Rhbao*.

In any event it is interesting to observe that at long last some serious work is being done which looks toward the not too distant simplification of the Chinese written language. The possibilities of this development, such as the rapid wiping out of illiteracy and speedier and cheaper printing, are tremendous.

China's Political Parties—I

WILLIAM STEINHAUS

THE origins of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang (RCK) go back to the 1927 split between the Kuomintang and the Communists, and the subsequent divisions within the Kuomintang itself—divisions heightened and deepened by the Japanese invasion of China, the waste of national energy and resources involved in Chiang Kai-shek's "bandit suppression" campaigns, and the steady drift of the Kuomintang right wing towards collaboration with the Japanese.

The history of its main protagonists —Li Chi-sen, Tsai Ting-kai Liu Ya-tse, Feng Yu-hsiang, Mme, Liao Chung-kai (Ho Hsiang-ning), Mme. Sun Yat-sen, Chen Ming-shu, Yang Chieh —goes back further, to close association with Sun Yat-sen in the early years of the Revolution or to participation in the 1924-27 period of the Kuomintang, when the Congress of 1924 laid down as basic requirements for realization of the Three People's Principles an attack on imperialism and feudalism, the strengthening of revolutionary work among peasants and workers, and cooperation with the Communist Party and Soviet Russia.

Its gradual consolidation over twenty years or more until the conference of all democratic groups within the KMT called by Li Chi-sen in October 1947 established, after a month of sessions, the present RCK, represents also the gradual weakening of feudal alignments (the Kwangsi Clique, Feng Yu-hsiang's followers and others) and their absorption into the larger entities of directly political Left or Right action groups.

* * *

Invasion of Manchuria

WHEN the Japanese moved into Manchuria in 1931, the long-standing opposition to Chiang Kai-shek within the Nationalist ranks hardened and crystallized around a demand which brought it national sympathy, resistance to Japan. Agitation swept Kuomintang China. The Chinese Red Army had already declared its active hostility to Japan. Why not the Kuomintang? The clamor reached the highest and most entrenched groups. Armed demonstration against appeasement and the bureaucracy, feudalism and dictatorship that went with it, were not wanting. Thus Feng Yu-hsiang in 1933 denounced the Nanking government, demanded anti-Japanese action and formed a People's Anti-Japanese Army at Kalgan.

But to this clamor Nanking turned a deaf ear. Chiang Kai-shek held to appeasement, reiterated in July of 1934 when he and Wang Ching-wei stated that "the means of national salvation lay in 'bandit suppression' and reconstruction and development of productive enterprises." The KMT Central Executive had already turned down, at its 3rd Plenary Session the year before, a proposal for land reform presented by Feng Yu-hsiang ("Owing to foreign economic exploitation and unsettled conditions in the country the rural villages have been brought to the verge of bankruptcy," said Feng in his preamble), and a proposal presented by the liberal-Right of the KMT asking for boycott of Japanese goods, assistance to the Manchuria Volunteers, and resistance to any invaders. ("The Chinese must follow the example of the 19th Route Army and 5th Army Corps, who put up such a gallant resistance to the Japanese military invasion at Shanghai last year.")

This is the first of three articles on some of China's political parties. The present article describes the development of the dmocratic opposition within the Kuomintang which remained true to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's 1924 Three People's Principles, its gradual evolution as a political party separate from and opposed to the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek, and its final participation in the government of the Chinese People's Republic. Among those representing this group in the Central People's Government is Li Chi-sen, one of the six recently-elected vice-chairmen.

The two subsequent articles will deal with the Democratic League, the National Salvationists, and other groups, and will appear in later issues of the Review.—Editor.

Fukien Revolt

In 1934 Fukien saw a more important demonstration against the Nanking Government and in support of national resistance, based on this very same 19th Route Army, by then transferred to Fukien after retreat from Shanghai was forced on it by Nanking's failure to send reinforcements. After a year of fighting the Red Army, the 19th Route, under the direction of Tsai Ting-kai, Li Chi-sen, Chen Ming-shu (recently returned from Europe) and a number of other leading political figures, revolted, proclaimed Fukien an independent state, *Chung Hua Kung Ho Kuo*, and on December 1 formally established a People's government, the *Federal Revolutionary Government of China*.

Here for the first time since the 1927 split were united in political activity many of the later founders of the RCK, and united on a platform which, except for the ommission of unity with the Communist Party and Soviet Russia (though this was implicit if their aims were to be achieved and a local truce had been concluded with the Red Army), was largely that of the pre-1927 Kuomintang. Here were Li Chi-sen, Tsai Ting-kai, Chen Ming-shu, Chiang Kwang-nai, Chang Po-chun, Eugene Chen and others, supported by Admiral Sah and Ho Kung-nan; with a Producers' Party, *Sheng-Chan-Tang*, formed of an amalgamation of the Third and Social Democratic Parties, a Federal Revolutionary Army of the Chinese People, a flag of blue and red stripes with five yellow stars in place of the Kuomintang flag. They provided a minimum platform that called for prolonged resistance against the Japanese and included complete tariff autonomy for China, abolition of unequal treaties, freedom of strikes and religious faith, state ownership of land, forests and mines.

Their statements of policy, moreover, showed an awareness of the need for radical change rather than reformism: "The eventual objective of the Chinese Revolution is the overthrow of the influence of imperialistic Powers in China as well as to wipe out the remaining influences of feudalism." Nor was there any doubt in their minds as to the role of the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership: "China will either be enslaved by the Japanese or go under the yoke of international control by the imperialists if she remains to be controlled by the Nanking government. Millions of people have died as the result of famines and floods caused by corruption in the government. Farmers find no lands to plough and workers see no plants where they may work. Those in employment fail to earn their bread and awakening people are slaughtered for their attempts to rescue them."

The revolt was shortlived. On November 28 Wang Ching-wei repeated the Nanking government's July opinion on national reconstruction: "These words hold good now as they did then," said Wang. Within a matter of weeks Nanking attacked the Fukien government. Foochow was bombed with planes that had been popularly subscribed for use against the Japanese. Canton failed to come to the support of the insurrection in spite of appeals. The 19th Route was broken, the revot collapsed, and its leaders went into retirement.

The revolt in Fukien, however, was only one, even if the most startling, of the protests made against Nanking and its policies during the decade 1927 to 1937. The 10 years were full of rumblings, of isolated risings, of maneouvers, against a government that was leading the country as quickly as it could into the very impasse foreseen by the Fukien insurrectionists —enslavement by the Japanese or the yoke of imperialism.

But each protest failed to secure unity at the psychological moment. Each remained in feudal warlord isolation. No mass support was secured, though even in Kuomintang China the masses would have responded, and no leader proved adequate at the time to press for and effect the one step which would have strengthened any protest, a common front with the Communists.

War With Japan

In 1937 the opportunity came again. The Marco Polo Bridge incident made it impossible for Chiang Kai-shek to stand in the way of China's resistance to Japan if he was to retain his power. With Nanking's grudging ac-

knowledgement of the need for a united front, and its grandiose but insincere promises of "reform," Tsai Ting-kai, Li Chi-sen and a host of others came out of enforced retirement to take part in national affairs once more.

The uneasy truce lasted for scarcely two years. By 1940 Chiang's troops had moved against the New 4th Army, and the snowball of repression was rolling merrily downhill again. Intellectual coteries stagnated, and the development of guerilla warfare, presupposing as it does popular mass movements, was halted in much of Kuomintang China. What little rural reform had been attempted was channeled into innocuous "model *hsiens*" where a careful eye could be kept on it. Kuomintang China settled into the realization that it was dominated by a government which had been forced into protestations of resistance against its will, and would avoid in every possible way fulfilment of its promises.

Disappointment, dissatisfaction, and a genuine concern for China brought the left-wing of the Kuomintang back into organized opposition. In the spring of 1940 a small group of dissident Kuomintang members began to hold regular meetings in Chungking—among them Li Chi-sen and Feng Yu-hsiang—pledging themselves to struggle for "the organization of democracy within the (KMT) Party and constitutional democracy throughout the country." To this statement of the "democratic faction of the Kuomintang" Mme. Sun Yat-sen, Liu Ya-tse, Ho Hsiang-ning, and Dr. Peng Tse-min, all Kuomintang revolutionaries then living in Hongkong, gave their agreement.

Left-Wing Strengthened

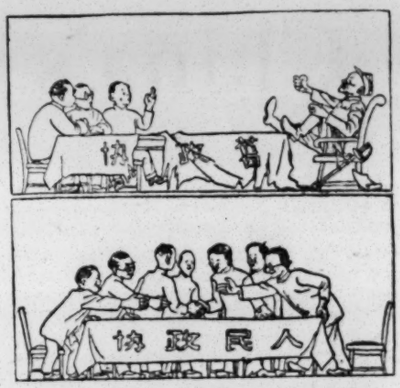
When Hongkong fell in 1941 the left-wing was further strengthened. Many of the KMT revolutionaries moved to Chungking, where a Society of Kuomintang Democratic Comrades was formed with Mme. Sun as Honorary Chairman. Others, including Li Chi-sen, Liu Ya-tse and Ho Hsiang-ning, took refuge in Kweilin where a South China Executive Board was set up. Between them the two groups mapped out a country-wide campaign for the "democratization of the Kuomintang." Possibilities of enlisting support in South China had been increased by the guerilla activities of Tsai Ting-kai, subordinates in the 19th Route and patriotic workers of all types who, working with left-wing and Communist guerilla units, had organized partisan warfare throughout the southern provinces following the fall of Canton.

Yet another interruption cut across their political work. The fall of Kweilin in December 1944 and the more violent anti-democratic measures taken by Chiang made effective contact between the Chungking and South China groups virtually impossible. The dissidents could maintain only a tentative organization. In Chungking secret forums met (including Feng Yu-hsiang, Shao Li-tze, and some who later abandoned altogether the democratic camp, Sun Fo and Yu Youjen.) Li Chi-sen gave shelter to many while Kweilin remained in Chinese hands. (He had, for example, enabled Hsia Yen, the well-known playwright, and Fang, China's leading war correspondent, to escape the clutches of the secret police.) In Yunnan, Lung Yun gave some protection to liberal groups. In west Szechuen divisions between Chiang Kai-shek and local warlords made it possible for liberals to enjoy a measure of freedom of expression, albeit circumscribed and extremely limited.

The enforced wartime division of left-wing Kuomintang elements into Chungking and South China groups continued into the immediate postwar period. With the end of the Sino-Japanese war Li Chi-sen and Tsai Ting-kai returned to Canton where, influenced by Chiang Kai-shek's promise of a coalition government to be formed after an all-party conference in 1946, they organized the Society for the Promotion of Democracy. This brought out into the open the organization informally established by Li and Tsai in the spring of 1945 at a time when both were conducting guerilla warfare behind the Japanese lines following Kweilin's fall. In its semi-underground days, the organization had done much to strengthen the Kuomintang left-wing in Kwangtung and Kwangsi and the dissidents' animosity towards the right-wing had intensified when Chiang secured the assassination of one of its prominent members, Chang Yen, a veteran 19th Router and commander of the South Route Anti-Japanese People's Self-Defence Army.

Upon the Society's formal establishment immediately after VJ Day, it retained its provincial character, its membership being drawn almost entirely from Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and though in the autumn of 1946 amalgamation with Ma Hsu-lun's similarly-named Society for the Promotion of Democracy was discussed and actually announced in Hongkong on November 5th, the KMT Society for the Promotion of Democracy later withdrew on the very score that Ma Hsu-lun's organization was mainly centered in Shanghai and included non-partisans, whereas Tsai's and Li's organization catered for left-wing KMT members centered on South China.

Meanwhile the progressive KMT members in Chungking had also openly declared their opposition to the right-wing KMT leadership at a congress called in October 1945 under the joint sponsorship of Chen Ming-shu, former President of the People's Government in Foochow, T'an P'ing-shan, veteran associate of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and onetime member of the Canton and Hankow governments, Hsu Pao-chu, General Yang Chieh former Ambassador to Moscow and later to be assassinated by KMT agents in Hongkong as he was preparing to leave for the Peking PPCC, Wang K'un-lun and others. Unlike the Society for the Promotion of Democracy, the Chungking group included people from every part of the country and the October Congress, which established the Association of San Min Chu Yi Comrades, included delegates from no less than 18 provinces and municipalities. Herein lay the chief difference between the two left-wing KMT organizations, for the "Programme of Party Reform" passed by the Congress equally represented the views of the South China group.



This cartoon from the Lih Pao depicts the difference between the old Political Consultative Conference in 1945 and the one recently held in Peking. The old PCC was attended by relatively few delegates and dictated to by Chiang Kai-shek. The new PPCC had a broad representation and was marked by a spirit of cooperation.

KMT Clean-up Proposed

The program was designed to return the Kuomintang to the spirit and democracy of the Northern Expedition days (1924-1927), to cleanse the party of corruption, bureaucracy and fascist cliques—"Return the Party to all its members," and to end the Kuomintang's One-Party rule. It called not only for a party clean-up, dissolution of the Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics, and a party supported by the contributions of its members instead of from state treasuries, but asked for more positive work among peasants, industrial workers, women and youth, with every Party member participating in such work.

It also implied, though did not state, that only cooperation between the Kuomintang and other democratic political organizations would preserve peace and unity in China. Yet both the Association of San Min Chu Yi Comrades and the Society for the Promotion of Democracy still clung to hopes that reform within the KMT (hopes revived in 1937 and never quite

extinguished) was still possible, still looked to Chiang to fulfil his promises of an all-party PCC, of an end to One-Party rule and the introduction of constitutional government. When Li Chi-sen left Hongkong for Shanghai in 1946 the hope was still there even if weakened.

But the 2nd Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Committee in March and April of that year put an end to all possibility of reforms within the Party. The subsequent arbitrary calling of a "People's Assembly" in October, and Nanking's issuance of the "Order for the Suppression of Revolts and for Mobilization" served to drive both organizations underground again and to make them more militant.

In February 1947 the Association of San Min Chu Yi Comrades held a secret meeting in Shanghai and issued an appeal for "all democratic parties and groups in the country to join in the common struggle for the realization of the Three People's Principles, peace and democracy." For the first time since its formation, it extended its hand openly to the Chinese Communists.

7-Point Proposal

On March 9th Li Chi-sen from Hongkong set forth a 7-point program that had the approval of all KMT progressives, and which he considered contained essential aims:

1) That the Nanking government should cease its attempts to unify the government by military means, and both sides withdraw their troops to areas garrisoned prior to January 13th, 1946—the day the "Truce Agreement" was signed.

2) That the People's Consultative Conference be reconvened, national and local governments reorganized, and political prisoners released.

3) That delegates to the People's Assembly be popularly elected, and the formulation of a democratic constitution be entrusted to them.

4) That China follow an independent foreign policy, that foreign intervention in China's affairs should stop, and all foreign troops in China be withdrawn.

5) That complete demobilization and liquidation of government bureaucracy be effected, and war veterans be placed in land reclamation or other constructive projects.

6) That national economy be protected from foreign encroachment (here, the Sino-American treaty in particular was intended) and "bureaucratic capital" be controlled.

7) That dictatorship within the KMT be ended, the party democratized, and all democratic parties cooperate in working towards national reconstruction.

Li Chi-sen, on the Double Tenth, announced the next major step, consonant with the decisions taken by the KMT democratic leaders after the July Nanking "Mobilization" order, that existing groups of liberal and democratic members of the KMT should join into one political organization, and an open stand be taken against Chiang's "treacherous and dictatorial regime." He called a conference of all democratic groups within the Kuomintang which, meeting on November 12th, remained in session for a month and established the present Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. Upon its official announcement on New Year's Day, 1948, with Mme. Sun Yat-sen as Honorary Chairman, Li Chi-sen as Chairman of the Standing Committee, and Liu Ya-tse, Ho Hsiang-ning, Tan Ping-san, Tsai Ting-kai, Li Chang-ta and the late Feng Yu-hsiang as Standing Committee members, the new political party uniting the Association and the Society on a common platform was formed.

Both the Association of San Min Chu Yi Comrades under T'an Ping-san and the Society for the Promotion of Democracy under Tsai Ting-kai gave it their allegiance and support, and their leaders were voted on to the Committee. Both organizations had increased their membership and influence in the previous twelve months. Tsai Ting-kai in particular had secured widespread support for the South China organization among former 19th Route Army personnel, retired officers and intellectuals, among them Li Chang-ta, once Sun Yat-sen's Chief of Staff and a member of the Fukien People's Government, General Chang Wen, Chu Yun-shan, Mei Kung-pin and Professor Ch'en Ts'u-sheng, former dean of Kwangsi University, all of whom announced their intention of working towards a democratic coalition government and "a country of the people, ruled by the people for the people," and T. V. Soong was later, in September 1948, to acknowledge its influence by arresting large numbers of its members in Canton.

Three People's Principles

In policy and organization the Committee fixed the present status of democratic KMT members. Basing its demands squarely on Sun Yat-sen's Three People Principles of 1924 which Chiang had abandoned, it provided for cooperation with the Communists, friendly relations with the USSR, and unity with the peasants and workers, in order to join hands "with all democratic parties in the country," to work "with those nations which are prepared to treat us on a basis of equality," and to "give land to the tillers."

Set out in more detail, its positive program (as against the "negative" aspect of opposition to Chiang) included: 1) substituting a democratic regime established by general elections for the totalitarian regime of Chiang Kai-shek, with a coalition government composed of delegates from all democratic parties and groups as the interim supreme political organ; 2) the holding of general elections; 3) the protection of civil rights; 4) independent courts; 5) the promotion of local self-government; 6) equality of all nationalities and races in China; 7) "land to the tillers" and an eight-hour day in industry; 8) democratic education; 9) improvement in the position of women; and 10) protection of overseas Chinese.

From New Year's Day 1948, through May when the democratic groups having headquarters in Hongkong—as the Revolutionary Committee then did—responded to the Communist Party's suggestion for a political consultative conference of "all democratic parties and groups, people's organizations and progressive social leaders," to the summer of this year, the Revolutionary Committee has come more and more to represent in membership and policy the interests of a large section of the vitally important patriotic bourgeoisie. Today, by its representation on the council of the Central People's Government, it brings the knowledge and influence of that class to the work of China's reconstruction under the New Democracy.

Central People's Government Council

Chairman: Mao Tze-tung

Vice-Chairmen: Chu Teh, Liu Shao-chi, Soong Ching-ling, Li Chi-shen, Chang Lan, Kao Kang

Members:

Chen Yi	Lin Feng
Ho Lung	Ma Hsu-lun
Li Li-san	Kuo Mo-jo
Lin Po-chu	Chang Yun-yi
Yeh Chien-ying	Teng Hsiao-ping
Ho Hsiang-ning	Kao Chung-min
Lin Piao	Shen Chun-ju
Peng Teh-huai	Shen Yen-ping
Liu Po-cheng	Chen Shu-tung
Wu Yu-chang	Sze-tu Mei-tang
Hsu Hsiang-chien	Li Hsi-chiu
Peng Chen	Huang Yen-pei
Po Yi-po	Tsai Ting-kai
Nieh Jung-chen	Hsi Chung-hsun
Chou En-lai	Peng Tse-min
Tung Pi-wu	Chang Chih-chung
Sai Fu-ting	Fu Tso-yi
Jao Shu-shih	Li Chu-chen
Tan Kah-kee	Li Chang-ta
Lo Jung-huan	Chang Po-chun
Teng-Tsu-hui	Cheng Chien
Ou Lan-fu	Chang Hsi-jo
Hsu Teh-li	Chen Ming-shu
Tsai Chang	Tan Ping-shan
Liu Ke-ping	Chang Nan-hsien
Ma Yin-chu	Liu Ya-tse
Chen Yun	Chang Tung-sun
Kang Sheng	Lung Yun

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Liberation of Canton; Trial of US Communist Leaders Ends

GENERAL Chen Keng's troops of the People's Liberation Army entered Canton on the night of October 14.

On the Hongkong border, the People's guerrilla forces peacefully occupied Shatautok on the eastern end of the Hongkong frontier on the afternoon of the same day and raised the flag of the People's Republic of China.

Hard fighting was reported on the Canton-Kowloon railway 60 miles from the British island colony.

In Canton, before the entry of the advanced guards of the PLA, underground elements and the police were reported to be controlling the city as the population calmly awaited the entry of General Chen Keng's troops.

After the PLA marched in, shops and restaurants reopened almost immediately and motor-bus services were operating. The first Chinese to reach Hongkong after the liberation of Canton said that Canton had suffered little damage except for the destruction of the Pearl River bridge by KMT troops.

The Cantonese were impressed by the discipline of the PLA soldiers.

First measure of the occupying authorities was the disarming of small bands of KMT troops wandering about the city's streets. The People's currency was fixed at 100 dollars to 10 Hongkong cents.

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Climax of a Battle

THE frontline correspondent of the *New China New Agency* reports that the spectacular march on Canton was characterized by speed and perfect coordination between the various People's Army units and the People's guerrilla detachments.

A three-pronged drive on Canton began on October 8, the day following the capture of Kukong. The west prong of the People's Army struck south along the Hankow-Canton railway. Racing at the speed of 30 to 40 miles a day, it reached the northern outskirts of Canton on October 14 and liberated Samshui on the following day.

The central prong moving down the Yungyun-Canton railway also reached a point east of Canton on the same day, and took Shektan, a railway station on the Canton-Kowloon line.

The east prong of the People's Army drove southwards through the Sunfung and Lung Moon counties and one of its spear-heads reached a point south of Canton. Fighting in close coordination with local guerrilla units, the east prong took Lungchun, Hoyuan and many other towns.

On October 14, the People's Liberation Army marched into Canton from the north and east and met in the center of the city where cheering crowds gathered to give them a warm welcome. The largest city in South China was thus liberated.

* * *

Pincers Close

Some half a million KMT troops face annihilation in South China as victorious PLA troops, following the capture of Hongkong, close in to mop up various remaining KMT pockets of resistence, according to Hongkong reports.

KMT General Pai Chung-hsi's so-called crack regiments amounting to 200,000 men are trapped in central Hunan.

KMT official sources admitted on October 15 that PLA forces had landed on the northeast corner of Amoy, the beseiged south Fukien island city. The news was contained in an official dispatch from Taipeh, capital of Taiwan, which said that the PLA started a large-scale offensive against the island on Saturday afternoon from three mainland springboards.

The dispatch said that after a terrifle four-hour artillery duel, a large fleet of wooden craft loaded with PLA troops headed for Amoy and Kulangsu, an adjacent island, simultaneously, and that two waves succeeded in reaching Amoy and establishing a pocket beyond the beach.

Further dispatches state that the PLA now controls the island of Amoy and Swatow in the south.

The Peking radio said that the PLA now stands at the gateway to Kwangsi province having captured Samshui, 30 miles west of Canton.

Provinces not entered by PLA regulars are Kweichow, Szechuen, Yunnan, Sikang and Taiwan. But there are people's forces in Yunnan and Kwangsi, while General Peng Teh - huai's armies in South Kansu and General Lin Piao's forces in Western Hunan are said to be regrouping for an invasion of Szechuen.

Extraneous Action

One full squadron of KMT marines invading the Nanhwei area in Pootung was annihilated, it was learned on October 9. The leader of the squadron and some forty marines were taken prisoner. The booty included a large amount of guns and ammunition and two motor-boats.

The invasion of the Nanhwei bridgehead was said to have been directed by KMT warships off the Pootung Peninsula, southeast of Shanghai. The invading KMT forces were immediately converged upon by PLA troops stationed in the Nanhwei area and overwhelmed. None of the invaders escaped.

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Hongkong Canton Trade

HONGKONG is said to be planning resumption of trade and communications with Canton following that city's liberation. It is now possible to cut through the KMT's coastal blockade by channeling goods from abroad into the Chinese People's Republic through newly-liberated Canton.

Both British shipping and airline companies are awaiting the first opportunity to resume services with Canton.

Hongkong police have stopped all British train and bus services short of the frontier during the period that the PLA takes over the border posts.

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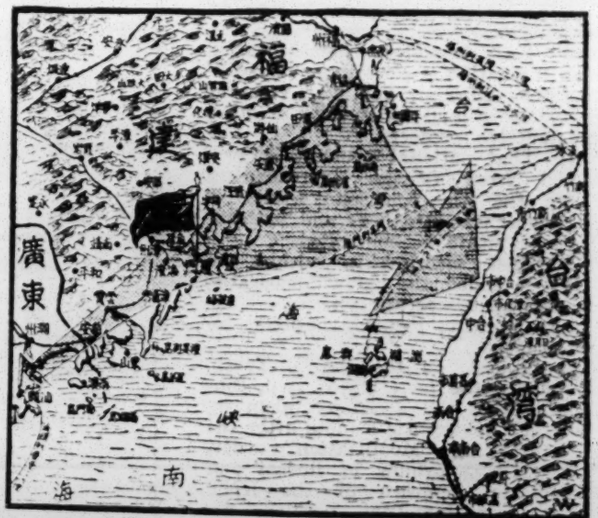
WFTU Delegates In Peking

DELEGATES of the World Federation of Trade Unions and delegates of the World Federation of Democratic Women arrived in Peking on October 15 to take part in the preparatory work of the trade union conference of the Asian and Aus-



The above map shows the possibilities for attacking Taiwan from the Amoy region of the Fukien coast. The arrow indicates how the PLA troops along the Fukien and Kwangtung coastal area, from Foochow in the North to Swatow in the South, could be mobilized for an attack on Taichung, the nearest city on the west coast of Taiwan.

The map is reproduced from the Ta Kung Pao.

tralasian countries and the Asian women's conference respectively.

The were accompanied by Liu Ning-yi, vice-president of the All-China Federation of Labor, who had gone to Tientsin to welcome them.

Welcoming them at Peking station were Li Li-san, and Chu Hsueh-fan, vice-presidents of the All-China Federation of Labor; Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao, and Li Teh-chuan, chairman and vice-chairmen of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation, and over 100 workers and women's representatives.

The delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions consists of W. Beresin, member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU and member of the presidium of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions, S. A. Wiekremasinghe, member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU and president of the Trade Union Federation of Ceylon, Luu Duc Pho, member of the General Council of the WFTU and secretary of the Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Vietnam Workers, Anna Rousseau of the Asiatic Department of the WFTU, Milo Jecnv of the Organization Department of the WFTU, and six working personnel.

Delegates of the WFDW are: Tamara Morozova, high school professor and member of the WFDW Commission on Asia and Africa, Simone Bertrand, representative of the Union of French Women and member of the WFDW Commission on Asia and Africa, and several others.

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Further Recognition

CHOU En-lai, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, received today a note from Choibalsan, Premier and Foreign Minister of the Mongolian People's Republic, dated October 6, notifying that the Mongolian People's Republic has decided to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

The note to Foreign Minister Chou En-lai states, in part:—"On behalf of all the Mongolian peoples, the government of the Mongolian People's Republic greets the heroic Chinese people on the declaration of the birth of the People's Republic of China and the formation of the Central People's Government truly representing the will of the freedom-loving Chinese people and wish great success to the great cause of all the people of the People's Republic of China in establishing independence, freedom and democracy.

* * *

New Flag For Paris

The five-starred national flag of the People's Republic of China was hoisted in Paris when a rally to celebrate the founding of the Republic was held in the city at the Union of Chinese Workers on the afternoon of October 9. The meeting was attended by several hundred overseas Chinese in Paris, including workers, merchants, students and the entire staff of the former Kuomintang Embassy and Consulate-General in Paris.

The Chinese national anthem was sung at the meeting which sent a congratulatory telegram to the Central People's Government of the Republic of China.

Another report from Paris said that attempts to intimidate the former Kuomintang Embassy and Consulate-General personnel failed to prevent them from declaring their severance of relations with the Kuomintang reactionary government, according to *New China News Agency* reports. When the threat to remove Ling Chi-han and Meng Chu-ju, former counsellors of the Embassy, from office failed to work, a Kuomintang Minister Tuan Mau-lan was dispatched to Paris from London to take over the Embassy. This move was promptly rejected by the staff of the Embassy. On October 9, another Kuomintang representative Tung Lin went to Paris to try to bribe the personnel of the Embassy to return to their former allegiance. This also is said to have failed to work.

* * *

Soviet Delegation

FORTY-four delegates of Soviet cultural, arts and science workers, headed by the well-known Russian writer, A. A. Fadeev, arrived in Shanghai from Nanking on Oct. 15.

About 3,000 people welcomed the delegation, among them Shanghai Communist Party leader, Yao Shou-shih, Deputy Mayors Tseng Shan and Pan Han-nien, Garrison Commander Ko Hua-tso, and delegates from various local official and civic organizations.

The Soviet welcoming party included Consul-General P. P. Vladimirov, I. P. Tihomirov, Chairman of the Soviet Citizens Association and others.

Deputy Mayor Pan Han-nien, speaking at the welcome, said that the arrival of the delegation in Shanghai "has made the entire population of the city feel greatly honored."

Mr. S. A. Gerasimov, well-known film director and laureate of the Stalin Prize, replied, greeting the people of Shanghai on behalf of Soviet cultural workers. Mr. Gerasimov assured the people of the city that "we are ready to share with you all our knowledge and our experience."

Included in the Soviet delegation, besides Messrs. Fadeev and Gerasimov, are K. M. Siminov, well-known Soviet author; P. I. Agladze, vice-president of the Geogian Academy of Science; V. A. Stoletov, director of the Timiriazev Agricultural Academy; Mrs. L. V. Dubrovina, Vice-Minister of Education of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, other leading cultural figures, and a number of artistes, including the ensemble of song and dance of the Soviet Red Army.

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US Communist Trial En

ON October 14, the trial of the American Communist Party leaders ended in New York when the jury returned a verdict of guilty. The eleven defendants were accused of "conspiring to overthrow and destroy the United States Government by force." The trial had lasted for nine months and was one of the longest in American legal history.

The maximum sentence for each defendant is ten years' imprisonment and US$10,000 fine.

The eleven defendants were: Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the American Communist Party; Henry Winston, the party's Organizing Secretary, a Negro; John Williamson, party Labor Secretary; James Stachel, party Educational Director; Robert Thompson, New York State party chairman; Gilbert Green, Illinois State party chairman; Gus Hall, Ohio State party chairman; John Gates, Editor of the "Daily Worker," the party's newspaper; Irving Potash, vice-president of the Fur and Leather Workers' Union, CIO; and Benjamin Davis, member of the New York City Council, a Negro.

The trial of William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party, was postponed when the trial began on January 17, because he was suffering from heart trouble.

The defendants were indicted under a section of the Smith Act, passed in 1940 and aimed at allegedly subversive groups. The defence contended that the section violated constitution-

PEKING COPES WITH UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

Press dispatches from Peking report that the city authorities, in an effort to provide jobs for unemployed intelligentsia, laborers and war refugees from the Northeast, Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan and Peiyuen provinces ordered a general registration throughout the city beginning from October 9. The collecting of data will be done by the section (chu) offices.

For the intelligentsia, the following openings are immediately available: 1) Five hundred primary school teachers are needed for the mountainous regions in south and west Hopei. Candidates must be between 20 and 45 years old and must be graduates of normal or senior middle schools. 2) One hundred primary school teachers are needed in the Yehpei and northern part of Chahar Province. They must be graduates of junior normal schools. 3) Forty primary school teachers are needed in Suiyuan Province and 100 for Pinyuen Province. In addition 300 senior middle school graduates are wanted in the mining regions in the Northeast provinces for statistical and accounting work. The last must undergo a half year's preliminary training before being assigned to their positions.

For unemployed workers there are openings for several thousand men in the coal mines and forests of northern Manchuria.

Three thousand people are needed for land reclamation in north Chahar, while 200 are needed for similar work in north Suiyuan. Those interested in land reclamation work in these two provinces are called upon to register providing that there is at least one male member of the family. The government will provide travelling and food allowances and will also issue cotton padded clothes and shoes. During the first year of work, the government will provide the necessary materials such as farming implements, seeds, cattle, fur coats and cash. The cost of these items is to be repaid over a period of several years.

What Chinese Papers Say...

East German Republic

THE establishment of the East German Government called forth approving comment. The *Ta Kung Pao* hailed the event as the "renaissance of the German people" and commended Russia's role, while implying that western powers have failed to abide by the decisions of the Potsdam Conference.

"When we try to look for the underlying cause for the failure to reach a solution of the German problem since the war's end," the paper stated, "to find out who is responsible for the impasse—or, to put it more bluntly, who is obstructing the unification of Germany, and who is sabotaging the democratization of Germany—we have all the facts clearly before us. The whole world is witness to the string of events which took place in Washington and in Western Europe.

"It is not only in Germany that the imperialists have been trying to manufacture war and violate the Potsdam Declaration," it continued. "The dying embers of Fascism are being fanned by American imperialism in the East and in the West. . . "

The *Wen Hui Pao* agreed, saying "so far, the policy carried out by the Anglo-American bloc in Western Germany only tends to split Germany up, to partition her, and to cultivate the germs of war that remain of Fascism. . . "

"However . . . let us hope that, with the help of the mighty Soviet Union, the German people will be able to shake off their former mournful fate to establish a united nation on the basis of democracy and peace."

* * *

Unpardonable Murderers

THE *Giefang Rhbao* bitterly condemned the latest wave of KMT bombings of Shanghai. A downtown area was bombed on October 13, causing more than 100 casualties. "The bombing of the peaceful working people of this city by the remnant Kuomintang bandits constitutes a most shameless and inhuman act," the paper stated. "This is not warfare, but merely the base slaughter of peaceful people."

The editorial went on, "The planes and bombs used for the slaughter of Shanghai people yesterday are still those supplied to the remnant bandits by American imperialism. . . the present acts of slaughter can only increase our hatred for American imperialism. . . . "

The paper called out to the personnel of the KMT airforce to stop carrying out orders, to sever themselves from the "bandits," and to "come over to the people."

* * *

USSR Delegation Hailed

THE delegation of Soviet writers, scientists and artists was given a hearty welcome by the press upon their arrival in Shanghai.

The *Giefang Rhbao* said that "the Shanghai people, in particular, have the closest ties of friendship with the Soviet Union. In the past, Shanghai used to be the center of the imperialists' rule over China." But "the bitter experiences of our revolutionary struggle have enabled us thoroughly to appreciate the difference between a friend and a foe." And "Shanghai has always been the most important center in China for the spread of Marx-Leninism."

* * *

Shanghai Improves

THE *Wen Hui Pao* commented with great satisfaction upon the improvement in public works in Shanghai since liberation. Mentioning bridge and road repair, the paper says, "While these matters concerning municipal reconstruction may not be considered measures of the highest significance, they nevertheless lead one to feel the spirit of activity and newness that permeates this city today. This new spirit and its tangible results are cited as a refutation of the old colonial mentality which the paper sums up in the sentence, "Anything that falls into the hands of the Chinese will be made a mess of," and concludes, "When political power falls into the hands of the people, everything becomes different."

* * *

Back To Work

AFTER the tumultuous enthusiasm over the founding of the People's Republic of China, which found expression in more than a week of parades, fireworks and dancing in the streets, many papers expressed the general feeling that it was time to get back on the job.

The *Wen Hui Pao*, anticipating the liberation of all China "earlier than we expect," owing to the skill and bravery of the People's Liberation Army, informed its readers in a business-like manner that "the days of enthusiastic celebrations are over. It is for we people of China to turn our enthusiasm to work, to production, and to the unification of our efforts so that we may keep up with the accomplishments of the fighting front.

"This is, in fact, our one and only objective for the present. Only thus can we make ourselves worthy of our brave revolutionary warriors," it concluded.

al guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly.

It was the first trial of its kind in the United States and it is expected to lead to the outlawing of non-conformist political parties.

The most startling outcome of the trial has been the immediate sentencing of five defence lawyers and Eugene Dennis, who acted as his own council, to terms of imprisonment on charges of contempt of court. The five attorneys sentenced were Henry Sacher of New York, Richard Gladstein of San Francisco, Louis McCabe of Philadelphia, George Crockett of Detroit, and Abraham Issermen of New York.

Sacher and Gladstein were each sentenced to six months' imprisonment; Crockett and Issermen to four months' imprisonment; McCabe to 30 days and Eugene Dennis to six months.'

The eleven defendants were remanded in custody to await sentencing this week.

* * *

Stalin Addresses Germans

ACCORDING to Moscow reports, Marshal Stalin, in a congratulatory message on the formation of the new Eastern German People's Republic, declared that "the biggest sacrifices in this war were borne by the German and Soviet peoples."

"These two peoples possess the greatest potential in Europe for accomplishing great actions of world importance," he said. "If they strained their energies for peace, as they did for war, peace would be secured."

"Marshal Stalin's message was addressed to Herr Wilhelm Pieck and Herr Otto Grotewohl, President and Prime Minister respectively of the new Republic, and to the German people.

In Berlin on October 12, Herr Otto Grotewohl, Premier of the new East German government, received a unanimous vote of confidence from the Lower House (Volkskammer) for himself and the 17 cabinet ministers which he presented. Herr Grotewohl gave seven places in the cabinet to members of the Socialist Unity Party, four to the Christian Democrats, three to the Liberal Democrats and one each to the National Democrats and the Peasants' Party. The other minister is non-party.

The three deputy-premiers are: Walter Ulbricht (Socialist Unity Party), Otto Nuschke (Christian Democrat), and Hermann Kastner (Liberal Democrats).

In speaking of the foreign policy of the new government, Herr Grotewohl said: "Friendship with the Soviet Union is the greatest guarantee of peace. It will be the basis of our foreign policy. The Government is willing to have friendly relations with all countries which desire them on a basis of equality."

* * *

Nehru Visits America

PANDIT Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India, began a month's visit to the United States last week. Welcomed at the Washington airport by President Truman and a 19-gun salute, Nehru began a busy week

which included several meetings with Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson, the usual visits to spots of historical interest around Washington, and addresses to the two houses of the American Congress.

Some indication of the importance attached to Nehru's visit by the American Government could be seen from the publicity attending his every move, as well as the warm manner in which he was greeted on all sides. Some observers saw the visit as the beginning of an American move to shift its emphasis in the Far East from China—where US fortunes are at the lowest ebb in decades—to India where several thousand communists are in jail and where communism has not yet become sufficiently strong to challenge Nehru's national government.

Following his speech to the House of Representatives, the lower branch of the US Congress, Representative Emanuel Celler declared: "Nehru's visit and his speech to us today emphasize and highlight the development of a treaty of commerce, navigation, and friendship between our two countries. (He) is a symbol of the friendship and cordiality that should exist between the two great democracies, the United States in the West and India in the East. . . ."

Pandit Nehru told a cheering House that India "cannot and shall not be neutral where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place." He declared, "We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom from whatever quarter it may come."

Meanwhile, back home in India looting and rioting subsided as police in Bombay and other cities began firing into crowds which were demonstrating because of the disappearance of sugar and salt from grocery store counters. A week of demonstrations by housewives developed into stoning and looting of shops hoarding sugar and salt last weekend, necessitating the calling out of police riot squads.

Sporadic periods of scarcity and resultant hoarding and profiteering in volving sugar, salt, and other goods have been reported from Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, and other parts of India throughout the past month. Housewives charged that the shortage was artificially induced by merchants who were keeping supplies under the counter in anticipation of general prices rises similar to the recent 1,500 percent hike in salt prices.

Merchants claimed they were unable to account for the shortage, while officials, claiming that supplies were plentiful, blamed the Communists.

* * *

US Economy

AMERICAN business sentiment this past week was reported "surprisingly" resistant to a number of events taking place both at home and abroad. Earlier it had been predicted that the stock market would set the pace for a generally gloomy business outlook because of the world-wide currency changes and the news of Russia's atomic explosion.

Many observers attributed this resistance to what would normally be

Chinese Magazines . . .

New Reconstruction

COMMENTING on "The Great Unity of the Revolutionary Classes of the Chinese People" Professor Fei Hsiao-tung, writing in the October 12, 1949 issue of *New Reconstruction*, states:

. . ."The most superficial glance will show that the representatives gathered for the Consultative Council cover a very extensive scope. The first feature . . . is the differences in age—we find delegates ranging from 92-year olds to youths of barely 21, truly an assembly of "five generations in a single hall" as the Chinese saying goes.

"Regionally speaking, the delegates have come from Heilungkiang in the north, Sinkiang in the west, Taiwan in the east, and Hainan in the south.

"Analyzing the races represented, we have the Kaoshan tribesmen of Taiwan, the Li tribesmen of Hainan, the Miaos and Lolos of the Southwest, the Tibetans of Chinghai, the Moslems of the Northwest, the Mongols of Inner Mongolia, the Ouigars and other races of Sinkiang. Many speakers have had to use the service of interpreters.

"In point of religion, the delegates include Buddhists, Mohammedans, and Christians.

"All these are, of course, but superficial differences. The most important characteristic is the great number of social classes represented by the delegates, for the Council truly has included in its ranks all the revolutionary classes of the Chinese people.

"The organization of the Council shows that the major objective of the gathering has been the great unity of the revolutionary classes of the Chinese people. To be more precise, it is the establishment of the political authority of the united front formed by the working class, the peasantry, the petit bourgeoisie, the national capitalists, and all other patriotic elements—a united front based on the foundations of the alliance of the workers and the peasants, and under the leadership of the working class." . . .

Professor Fei goes on to discuss the composition of the united front — the workers, peasantry, petit bourgeoisie, and the national capitalists—and points out that there are differences in degree in the revolutionary nature of these four groups. "The working class are the most thoroughly revolutionary, while the national capitalists are the weakest in the degree of revolutionary consciousness.". . .

"For the Chinese national capitalists belong to a class with a dual personality. In the West, the national capitalists are counter-revolutionary, and stand opposed to the proletariat. In China, the position is different. The Chinese national capitalists were born at the same time as the Chinese proletariat during the period of the destruction of China's feudal economic structure by foreign capitalism. But Chinese capitalism was not favored with a chance for healthy development, for as the Chinese capitalists began to emerge on their own, Western capitalism had already developed to the stage of aggressive imperialism. The latter would not tolerate the development of a competitive capitalism in the colonies and semi-colonies. Thus Chinese national capitalists received a serious blow at the hands of the imperialists. And precisely because of this, they must resist foreign imperialists.". . .

After pointing out that the only course for national capitalists is to join the revolution, Professor Fei discusses the role of the petit bourgeoisie who, he says, have suffered greatly from the reactionary influences of the past. Professor Fei says that the petit bourgeoisie have a deep association with individualism and liberalism which will be a handicap to their acceptance of collectivism. These are some of the weakness in the revolutionary united front, but, says Professor Fei, "the acknowledgment of weakness is the beginning of the negation of weakness." With the strides already taken by the People's Political Consultative Council in building a united country under the leadership of the working class, a leadership established through the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the weaker elements, according to Professor Fei, will also be united.

In discussing the anxieties of the national capitalists and the petit bourgeoisie the professor says: "In this connection, the People's Political Consultative Council has already done yeomen service. In the first place, the New Democracy is considered as only a transitional stage of the revolution, which must be directed toward the higher planes of socialism and communism. . . . Only when the national capitalists are fully aware of the absolute futility of the course of capitalistic development and accept the road to socialism as the sole course for the future, will the program of socialism be officially put up.". .

Pointing out that both the national capitalists and the petit bourgeoisie were adequately represented at the People's Political Consultative Council, Professor Fei states: "The petit bourgeoisie and the national capitalists may rest assured, therefore, that the People's Government will not adopt drastic socialist measures before the social foundations for such a move are fully consolidated." . . .

In US Magazines . . .

Business Week

EXPLAINING that the economic reform program imposed on Japan by SCAP has not worked out, *Business Week*, leading business magazine in the US, in the August 13, 1949 issue in an article entitled, "Shift in Japan Means Tougher Policy," states that the US can expect a new flood of cheap-labor goods when US controls end.

The article written from Tokyo says: "US businessmen may soon face the same cutthroat competition with Japan they did before the war.

"By the end of the year, the US will have dropped nearly all internal controls over Japan. General MacArthur will still head a garrison—to keep order and see that waste of US dollar aid is kept at a minimum. But the direction of Japan's internal affairs will fall to Premier Shigeru Yoshida and his conservative government. . ."

Commenting on the Yoshida Democratic Liberal party the article points out that it is committed to restoring the old order in Japan—an order characterized by 1) Severely depressed consumption which provides the dirt-cheap labor needed for the lowest possible export prices. 2) Monopoly control of raw-material production and distribution, in order to control export prices and profits. 3) Complete suppression of the trade-union movement as the only domestic political force able to thwart these objectives.

"For most US business, ruthless re-development of Japan's export markets will mean a drastic limitation of their own Far Eastern market. And that market promises to be very rich when political stability returns and allows industrial expansion. . . ."

In spite of the fact that SCAP officials ridicule a return of the old order, the article points out that the job of trust busting has not been accomplished, that Japan has never known either a free economy or a democratic government.

"What the occupation has done primarily, is to impose on Japan the formal mechanisms of a model democracy—a constitution, labor-standard laws, anti-trust legislation, universal suffrage, decentralization of police power, and land reform. But now that the US is stepping into the background, the mechanisms are being scrapped, one by one. . . ."

"The drive to contain communism throughout the world has made any anti-Communist group, regardless of its aims, attractive and respectable—especially to high ranking Army and Navy officers.

"Thus it is no surprise to find one of General MacArthur's aides saying in answer to a question whether he saw any danger in the growth of the Yoshida nationalists: 'To hell with that kind of talk. I'll take the old zaibatzu any day to the Communists.' Military circles believe that America has only two choices in Japan: the Communists or the Democratic Liberals. . ."

Discussing living standards within Japan, the article goes on to say: "The plans for economic reform are already breaking down. If they had been administered carefully over a period of years, Japan might have had a relatively free economy —one that would pour a major portion of its profits into an increasingly better standard of living at home.

"Only a bare start, however, was made toward the goal. The non-operating holding companies of the 14 zaibatzu families (who controlled 90 percent of Japan's industrial capacity and well over 50 percent of the country's foreign trade) were liquidated.

"But these holding companies all had companies under them that dominated a particular line of production. With a few significant exceptions—Japan Iron & Steel, Oji Paper, and Oriental Can—these operating companies still control their fields. If, as it looks now, occupation in the future will be only to make recommendations on trust-busting, there's little chance that the Yoshida government will do much to break this control. . ."

Explaining how easy it is for laws to be circumvented and that the Yoshida government will act only where SCAP intervenes directly, the article goes on to say that while most of the stock of the zaibatzu companies has been sold, "control of the companies remains, by and large, in the hands of the old directors. . ."

With regard to labor the article says that it is "more and more falling prey to the Communists," and that the SCAP-created labor laws have been ineffective with the result that Japan's infant trade-union movement has almost no way of functioning.

"The Diet," continues the article, "is stacked with representatives of the old economic order who have successfully smothered all labor-backed legislation. And Japanese labor has also lost most of its right to strike. MacArthur, exercising his right under the occupation statute, has barred every major strike so far. As the Communist threat grows, he will probably continue to do so.

"But some of the labor gripes have a real basis, so impromptu strikes and disorders can be expected to spread. They could end up in a revolt against the government. They could, that is, if Yoshida couldn't draw on occupation troops to keep order.

"Blocking Communism is so much the No. 1 US policy that Yoshida and his party followers are sure occupation authorities are in complete sympathy with their aims. They are confident that the occupation forces will help keep order and bring in enough food to give the country a minimum standard of living.". . .

considered depressive news to the brightening labor picture. Although nearly 1,000,000 coal and steel workers were still on strike at the time of writing, management was reported as believing that this year's drive by labor for increased wages and other benefits would fall far short of its announced goal. Weaknesses and rivalries of labor leaders were cited as the basic reason for this view.

The long range view of management-labor relations was also improved from management's point of view last week by the announced failure of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to come to any agreement for common political activity. The CIO had presented a plan for united political activity to the AFL but the latter, the more conservative of the two labor unions, turned the proposal down.

Meanwhile, the administration in Washington was facing the problem of what to do with an ever-growing surplus of farm products. US farmers, with federal subsidies assuring minimum price levels for many of their crops, were turning in record harvests.

Some observers predicted a return to the practice of crop destruction, widespread during the early New Deal days, as storage facilities bulged with wheat, cotton, and other farm products. The government, which buys farm surpluses under its subsidy program, has already proposed drastic acreage reduction quotas for next year's cotton crop. This year farmers harvested 15,446,000 bales from a total of 26,380,000 acres planted to cotton. The government's plan for next year would limit planting to 71,000,000 acres which, it is estimated would result in a crop of approximately 11,733,750 bales, or a reduction of about 20 percent.

Destruction of surplus farm products or reduction of planting quotas appeared inevitable in many lines as the government, month by month, took possession of more and more surplus items from the nation's farmers. Some items could be stockpiled almost indefinitely, providing storage space is available, but some products, such as grain, can only be kept so long before spoilage sets in. Indicative of the position the government is finding itself in was the announcement last week that a nine years' supply of dried eggs is now in storage.

The continuance of the cold war, plus the financial difficulties in which most of America's allies find themselves, were viewed as adding to the problem. Should the cold war spread to China, another outlet for such farm products as wheat and cotton would be lost, observers pointed out.

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Social Strains And Stresses

NEWS from the Union of South Africa, which is rapidly advancing from an agricultural to an industrial economy, last week indicated growing internal problems as the new economic developments impose strains on the old social system which provided for segregation of the black natives and the white colonists.

Industrialization, reported B. J. Schoeman, South African Government

minister of labor, has created many problems, one of which is the influx of natives into the white dominated cities. In an effort to provide more living space, the Minister reported, the government is taking steps to allow natives to build their own houses. However, Mr. Schoeman emphasized, such work would be restricted to native locations and housing schemes. Natives would not, he declared, be allowed to encroach on the preserves of European building trade employees.

Continuing, the Minister stated that the government is now considering whether industrialization in the large cities has not reached the saturation point, and whether attention should not now be focussed on starting new industries in smaller urban centers. In any case, he said, despite the general shortage of labor, the government will not allow any more natives to become permanent town dwellers and will reduce the numbers already found in urban areas as far as possible.

Meanwhile, other problems were highlighted by a press dispatch from Pretoria which quoted the government finance minister, N. C. Havenga, as announcing completion of arrangements with American and Swiss bankers for loans totaling £6,000,000. Mr. Havenga, however, warned that America must not be thought of as a limitless source of capital for the development of backward areas such as South Africa. Many investment possibilities still exist in the United States, he said, although adding that the recent devaluation of South Africa's currency had brightened the prospect somewhat for increased American investment.

* * *

War And Diplomacy

THE war in Indo-China came back into the news during the past week as French Army communiques admitted heavy fighting in several areas. Four French posts were admitted lost to the Vietminh troops, while Vietminh artillery shells landed in Saigon. Resistance forces were reported concentrating in the frontier region of North Vietnam, while in Central Vietnam the fighting was marked by an intensification of guerrilla attacks aimed at disrupting road and rail communications.

On the diplomatic front it was revealed that the Vietminh government headed by Ho Chi Minh would send a representative to the Singapore conference of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE). The delegate was expected to be Nguyen Ducguy, former Vietminh representative in Bangkok.

The French puppet regime in Indo-China, headed by Bao Dai, former emperor of Annam, has also announced its intention of sending a delegate to the Singapore conference. Observers predicted considerable embarrassment for the member nations since it is believed that the two delegates will each claim the right to represent Vietnam and that each will try to force a decision during the meeting.

The Week's Business

CANTON'S liberation on October 15 has stimulated local business and trade, and overshadowed all other developments during the week. Observers have pointed out two developments of economic significance:

1) With Tientsin and Canton both now in the people's hands, the enemy's coastal blockade has lost its effectiveness; and

2) With the liberation of Canton, the leading port in South China, the whole South China area is opened up as a market for industrial products from Shanghai.

Canton, it will be recalled, used to consume large quantities of industrial products from Shanghai, including cotton yarn, cloth, socks, piece goods, soap and other daily necessities. The Shanghai Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company has been supplying Foochow with cotton yarn and cloth, and from now on these supplies will also be sent to Canton and other South China cities. The knitting, soap and many other industries of Shanghai are all increasing their production so as to be prepared to meet demands from the South China market.

Local import and export circles have been stimulated over the news of the liberation of Canton, and are actively preparing to resume their business through South China.

Some 20 local importers and exporters, including the China Vegetable Oil Corporatoin, Yin Feng, Pei Feng and others, have branches in Canton, and have already established contact with their personnel in Hongkong. According to estimates made by competent quarters, the supplies stockpiled in Hongkong total some 20,000 bales of raw cotton and 10,000 tons of chemical raw materials, hardware, steel and iron, paper and other items. As the storage charges and insurance premiums in Hongkong are high, these supplies will soon find their way to this market through Canton.

From now on, such native products of Central and South China as antimony, hog bristles, rapeseed oil, tung oil, tea, tin, tungsten and others will be exported from Canton instead of through Tientsin as at present. Shanghai will also be able to export its industrial products of cotton yarn and cloth, knitting goods, enamel ware and so forth from Canton.

Local appointed banks are also optimistic over the future of overseas remittances. The Overseas Chinese Banking Corporation has already received remittances from the South Seas, and facilities have been extended by the Bank of China. For the time being, as the conversion ratio between Jen Min Piao and foreign currencies has not yet been established in foreign countries, most of the remittances will probably come via Hongkong. When exchange rates are established, Canton will definitely be the center for overseas remittances. Prior to the outbreak of the War of Resistance, the annual receipts of overseas remittances used to total more than US$300,000,000.

In the local commodity markets during the week under review, practically all quotations registered increases with brisk trading reported. Comparatively speaking, quotations for industrial products increased more than those for agricultural products. Although the main cause for this price climb is the increasing outport demand, the report of the liberation of Canton is also an important factor, as dealers anticipate large shipments to South China.

The increase in the cotton yarn and cloth quotations during the week ending October 15 was especially noticeable, averaging two to three percent daily. The prices, however, finally came down by the weekend following heavy sales on the part of the Shanghai Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company.

During the week the exchange ratio between cotton yarn and rice was one piece of 20's Kincheng cotton yarn for 25 piculs of medium grade *pei keng*, or approximately the prewar level. Outport market reports during the week revealed that one piece of 20's yarn brought 76 piculs of medium grade rice in Nanchang, 46 piculs in Hankow and 30 piculs in Wusih.

According to official compilations, the state trading companies sold an average of JMP2,000,000,000 to JMP3,000,000,000 worth of supplies in the local market daily during the week under review, representing an increase of 10 times in comparison with the previous week.

This heavy dumping of supplies by the authorities, coupled with large sums of money remitted to Tientsin and Peking where money was tight, brought about a stringent financial situation from October 17. The curb interest rate on loans jumped up to JMP15 per mille per day.

During the month of September, it was reported, the total deposits at local banks showed an increase of 37 percent in comparison with the previous month, while the amount of loans extended in September also represented an increase of over 61 percent over August. Most of the leading banks in the city, such as the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank, the Kincheng Banking Corporation, registered favorable balances in their accounts at the end of September.

Following is a listing of representative commodity prices for the past week:

	Oct. 12 JMP	Oct. 19 JMP
Parity Deposit Unit	762	799
US dollar (note)	4,200	4,200
20's yarn	830,000	930,000
12-lb. cloth	36,000	39,700
Rice, 1st grade	37,000	34,500
Peanut oil	78,500	79,000
Coal briquette	5,500	5,500

Full Text of Organic Law of PPCC

(Following is the full text of the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council. This is an unofficial English translation by the New China News Agency.)

Chapter One. General Provisions

Article 1. The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (referred to in this text as Chinese PPCC) is the organization of the democratic united front of the people throughout China. Its aim is the rallying of all democratic classes and all nationalities throughout China through the unity of all democratic parties and groups and people's organizations, to exert joint efforts in carrying out new democracy, opposing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, overthrowing the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, eliminating overt and covert remnant counter-revolutionary forces, healing the wounds of war, rehabilitating and developing the people's economic, cultural and educational work, consolidating national defense, and, uniting with nations and countries in the world which treat us on a footing of equality, to establish and consolidate the independent, democratic, peaceful, unified, prosperous and strong People's Republic of China of people's democratic dictatorship, led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

Chapter Two. Participating Units and Delegates

Article 2. Democratic parties and groups and people's organizations which agree to Article 1. of this organic law may take part in the Chinese PPCC after being approved by the National Committee of the Chinese PPCC through consultation. Individuals may, upon invitation agreed on through consultation by the National Committee of the Chinese PPCC, also take part in the plenary sessions of the Chinese PPCC and are eligible for election to its National Committee.

Article 3. The units, the number of delegates and nominees taking part in each session of the Chinese PPCC shall be decided through consultation by the National Committee of the previous session of the Chinese PPCC. The units, the number of delegates and nominees taking part in the first plenary session of the Chinese PPCC shall be determined by the preparatory committee of the Chinese PPCC through consultation.

Article 4. All participating units and delegates have the obligation to abide by and execute all resolutions passed by the plenary session of the Chinese PPCC and by its National Committee.

In the event of participating democratic parties and groups and people's organizations disagreeing with resolutions passed by the plenary session or by the National Committee, they have to abide faithfully by the said resolutions in accordance with the democratic principle of the minority submitting to the majority, and must not violate them, but they may reserve their divergent opinions for discussion at the next session. If they fundamentally disagree with important resolutions, they are at liberty to withdraw from the Chinese PPCC upon application.

Article 5. If units or delegates to the Chinese PPCC or members of its National Committee seriously violate the organic law, the common program or important resolutions of the Chinese PPCC, they shall in accordance with the gravity of the offense be warned, or be asked to recall their delegates, or have their membership in the committee disqualified, or be cancelled as a representative unit. In the event of disagreement, appeal may be made to the next plenary session.

Chapter Three. Plenary Session

Article 6. The plenary session of the Chinese PPCC shall be summoned triennially by the National Committee. The National Committee may, when necessary, convene the session earlier or postpone its convening.

The first plenary session of the Chinese PPCC shall, however, be summoned by the preparatory committee of the Chinese PPCC.

Article 7. The plenary session of the Chinese PPCC has the following powers and functions:

1. Enacting or amending the Organic Law of the Chinese PPCC.
2. Drawing up or amending the program of new democracy, that is, the common program of the Chinese PPCC, to be observed in common by all democratic parties and groups and people's organizations participating in the Chinese PPCC.
3. Exercising the functions and powers of the All-China People's Congress prior to its convocation through universal suffrage:
   - *a.* Enacting or amending the Organic Law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.
   - *b.* Electing the Central People's Government Council and vesting it with the power of exercising state authority.
   - *c.* Handing over resolutions to the Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China concerning fundamental policies or important measures related to the cause of democratic revolution of the people throughout the country or national construction work.
4. Submitting proposals on fundamental policies and important measures related to national construction work, to the All-China People's Congress or the Central People's Government after the convocation of the All-China People's Congress through universal suffrage.
5. Electing the National Committee of the Chinese PPCC.

Article 8. More than half of the total number of delegates are required to form the quorum of the plenary session of the Chinese PPCC. There must be the concurrence of more than half of the delegates present at the session before a resolution may be passed.

Article 9. The plenary session of the Chinese PPCC shall have a presidium elected by the plenary session, and the number of the members of the presidium shall be prescribed by each plenary session extemporaneously.

Article 10. The plenary session of the Chinese PPCC shall have a secretary-general elected by the plenary session and a number of assistant secretaries-general appointed by the presidium. A secretariat shall be set up under the secretary-general and his assistants.

Article 11. The plenary session of the Chinese PPCC may organize various committees. The organization regulations pertaining to them shall be separately stipulated.

Article 12. The rules of procedure of the plenary session of the Chinese PPCC shall be drawn up by the presidium.

Chapter Four. National Committee

Article 13. A national committee shall be set up after the closing of the plenary session of the Chinese PPCC and shall have the following functions and powers:

- *a.* Ensuring the implementation of the resolutions of the plenary session and of the National Committee of the Chinese PPCC.
- *b.* Consulting on and submitting proposals to the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.
- *c.* Assisting the government in mobilizing the people to participate in the work of people's democratic revolution and national construction.
- *d.* Consulting on and submitting the joint list of candidates of all participating units of the Chinese PPCC for the elections of deputies to the All-China People's Congress.
- *e.* Consulting on and determining the participating units and the number of delegates and nominees

of the next plenary session of the Chinese PPCC and to summon it.

f. Directing the work of local democratic united front.

g. Consulting on and dealing with affairs concerning the internal cooperation of the Chinese PPCC.

Article 14. The members and alternates of the National Committee of the Chinese PPCC shall be elected by the plenary session of the Chinese PPCC; the number of the members and alternates shall be determined by each plenary session extemporaneously.

The National Committee of the Chinese PPCC shall meet semi-annually and the meeting shall be called by the standing committee of the National Committee. The standing committee may, when necessary, call the meeting earlier or postpone it.

Article 15. A certain number of standing committee members, a chairman and a certain number of vice chairmen shall be elected by and from among the members of the National Committee of the Chinese PPCC to form the standing committee to take charge of the affairs of the National Committee.

Article 16. The National Committee of the Chinese PPCC shall have a secretary-general elected by the National Committee, and a certain number of assistant secretaries-general appointed by the standing committee of the National Committee. A secretariat shall be set up under the secretary-general and his assistants.

Article 17. Regulations for the work of the National Committee of the Chinese PPCC shall be drawn up by the standing committee of the National Committee.

Chapter Five. Local Committees

Article 18. Local committees of the Chinese PPCC may in accordance with the resolutions of the National Committee of the Chinese PPCC, be set up in major cities, important areas and provincial capitals as organs for consultation and ensuring the implementation of resolutions by the democratic parties and groups and people's organizations in these places.

Article 19. The organization rules of the local committees of the Chinese PPCC shall be drawn up or ratified by the National Committee of the Chinese PPCC.

Chapter Six. By-laws

Article 20. The organic law shall be put into effect after being adopted by the plenary session of the Chinese PPCC.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 107)

the strongest in the world and unconquerable; but what was the result of the second world war?

After all, faith and worship alone cannot solve the problems. Solutions depend on the surrounding conditions—the material needs of the people.

Even Marx did not underestimate the influence of the mind. He said that when an idea has the support of the people, then it has the strength to become a fact. When the idea suits the environment, added together with the great efforts of the people, we can be sure to gain success.

So in the modern scientific century spiritualism can never again regain its hold, for no one can be misdirected by the gossip of faith and worship.

C. S. YING.

Shanghai
October 11, 1949

CORRESPONDENT

To The Editor:

I am curious to know what the attitude of the Review is toward the action of the authorities in stopping the activities of foreign correspondents whose countries do not recognize the new government of China.

I hear many foreigners say this is a bad move and that it will neither hasten recognition nor allow the people in these countries to follow developments in China. However, it seems to me that the question should be viewed in a different light. Instead of wondering why the Chinese Government has banned the activities of these correspondents, we should ask ourselves why the foreign governments concerned have not accorded recognition to a government which clearly has the support of the people—a fact which is obvious to any foreigner living in China. The question of recognition is far more basic than that of the activities of correspondents, and, when it is solved, the sending of foreign news dispatches automatically will be resumed.

What does the Review think?

J. R. B.

Shanghai
October 15, 1949

(We agree that the horse comes before the cart—Editor)

PHILOSOPHY OF LOVE

To The Editor:

The following anecdote which circulated and gained its popularity during the Anti-Japanese War typifies the new philosophy of love now prevailing.

After the outbreak of the war, a certain highly-educated girl joined the guerilla warfare and later married a comrade from the working class.

One Saturday night, according to the custom at that time in the army, she went to spend the night at her husband's. In a very high spirit she set forth on her journey under a full moon. It was a very romantic night indeed.

"Oh, just imagine how beautiful it would be to walk arm in arm with a lover (and a revolutionist!) on such a beautiful night under such intensified circumstances of the war!"

She found her husband deeply absorbed in his work. Without thinking, she caught him by the arm and cried, "Quick, take a look outside." He immediately thought something about the war had occurred, and he followed her outside at once. When they were in the open field she looked up admiringly at the moon and cried excitedly, "Look, how beautiful! How full and bright!"

Then her husband understood that this had nothing to do with the military situation, but he was only to look at the moon. Nonchalantly, he said, "What's the fun of this? It's round as a cake!" And then hurried back to his work.

Her husband's comparison of the moon to a cake and his whole attitude was like a shower of cold water pouring down upon her burning enthusiasm. She felt hurt and dreary and lonely. She dragged herself home feeling profoundly melancholy and thinking of the wartime life. How dry it was!

When her husband returned home from his work, he found her fast asleep and a poem left on the table.

Love understanding not, nor gentleness, my mate
Comparison of moon to cake does bring!
Now, for no Saturday shall I eagerly await,
As in vain it is the precious night of spring!

Her husband, who also was well-educated, composed another poem with the same rhyme she had used.

Ephemeral are flowers bound to cruel Fate,
Moonlight, however bright, no warmth could bring.
But Hunger will make you appreciate,
Cakes are more valuable than everything.

The next morning the bright sun shone forth with its golden rays and the girl had forgotten all of her evening's sentimentality. She went gaily back to her own work.

The theme of this story is that revolutionary work is more important and more urgent then romantic love. At the present stage, it is not right for us to indulge in such kind of romantic love-making while the whole country—the whole world—is struggling for something far more fundamental in life than love. We are creating now the situation under which lovers will be able to enjoy freely and wholeheartedly all the sweetness and delights of love. We want to see all our fellow countrymen live comfortably and luxuriously, but at the present time we must be frugal and economical. Why? Just for such a bright future.

Love is not an exception.

M. Y. HU

Nanking October 10, 1949

ARE YOU OBJECTIVE?

To The Editor:

I have heard a great deal of criticism of the Review from many of your readers since the liberation. Some of us feel that under the KMT days you were very courageous in presenting an objective and critical view of the events taking place at that time. However, since the liberation we have seen only bouquets for the new government and we feel your magazine can no longer be considered objective and unbiased.

We also feel that you have dealt too severely with American policy and, as far as I can remember, I have seen no criticism by you of what Russia has been doing. Aren't there two sides to every question, and isn't it the purpose of the Review to present an objective, balanced picture?

I would appreciate your comments on this and the views of other readers.

AMERICAN READER

Shanghai October 18, 1949

(Time and space are short this week, but we'll see what we can do by "American Reader's" questions in the next issue. As a matter of fact, we've heard similar queries before and have been intending to get around to this general subject—Editor)

The Review's English Lesson CII

A Note on the Books of Howard Fast

HOWARD Fast, born in New York in 1914, went to high school (middle school) in New York and worked while at school to support himself. He later studied art, but decided he would never become an artist, and tried various jobs. He worked for a time on a construction project. He also lived on an Indian reservation to collect material for one of his books. He has already written several books, of which the best known are "Conceived in Liberty" (1939), "Citizen Tom Paine" (1943) and "Freedom Road" (1944).

Many of his books deal with the American Revolution against England, and are written in a direct, almost homely style of great strength. "Conceived in Liberty" tells the story of the terrible winter which General Washington's ragged troops suffered through at Valley Forge, while the Continental Congress refused to send supplies. "Citizen Tom Paine" is a fictionalized biography of Thomas Paine, whose pamphlets, written during the most trying days of the Revolution, crystallized the democratic ideas of new America and were a great force in holding together the revolutionary forces. It is interesting that in 1947, Fast and others were convicted of contempt of Congress. The defendants had refused to turn over to the "un-American Activities Committee" the names of contributors to the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, of which they were members, or of Spanish Republicans in exile.

In "Conceived in Liberty," after the winter at Valley Forge, the "regulars" were joined by volunteers, farmers for the most part, and, after training, met the British in a decisive battle. Fast describes the thoughts of Allan Hale, the central character, as he sees the red-coated British advancing on his small advance guard:

> I say to myself, This is England—this is all of Europe. This is what we are fighting, this crass contempt of man, this laughing contempt of the life of man, of the soul of man, of man's right to live, to know simple things and to be happy with simple things—to have no man over him. I say to myself, This is what we shall be fighting always, time without end. The fight will go on, and there will be no rest. We are life. Naked, starving, dirty farmers are life. They, out there—they are a laughing contempt for life. I tell myself that.

Earlier, Hale and his comrades had struggled through the bitter cold, to take a seriously ill man from their log dugout to the "hospital," a log cabin crowded with wounded, with only one doctor. The doctor asks one of the group of tattered, freezing soldiers, a Jew, why he came to America:

> The Jew shrugged.
>
> "You came with a great dream of a Land for your kind," asked the doctor.
>
> "A land for all men."
>
> "It's big enough. But men are the same—here or Europe. If they win—and they won't—but if they win, they'll drive you out. You're a Jew, a heathen."
>
> "They won't drive us out," the Jew said softly. "We've come the length of the world. . . ."
>
> "Driven!"
>
> "No—we've come here. We've come for a dream of a place for all men. This is a new world. The day of the old world is over. A long time—maybe two hundred, maybe three hundred years. But it will make the men who live in it. This is only the beginning. This army is nothing—nothing, only a dream. Do you understand? The army goes; the dream never goes. . . ."

"Citizen Tom Paine" tells the tragic story of Tom Paine, who was born in utter poverty in England. He was helped to go to America by Benjamin Franklin, and gradually became well-known as an editor. When the Revolution broke out with the battle of Lexington, Tom Paine joined the Army, endured the rigors of Army life, wrote "Common Sense," a strong argument against the tyranny of the King, and later, to rally the weakening revolutionary forces, the pamphlet that began,

> These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the services of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered. . . .

With the collapse of the British forces, defeated by the "half-naked farmers," Paine found himself without an occupation; he had become a "professional revolutionary." He remembered the oppression and terrible poverty of England, and went there, hoping to rouse the masses to revolt against their rulers, as the people had done in the American colonies. But in America his writings had come at a time when revolutionary feelings were running high, while in England, although the condition of the people was worse, they had been cowed into submission, and Paine failed, barely escaping with his life.

He went to France, where he leaped into the French Revolution. But he had grown old, and had lost his faith in the people. When the radical Jacobine gained power, Paine's Girondist friends fled or were guillotined, but he remained. He was imprisoned, after writing a pamphlet called "The Age of Reason," an attack upon organized religion. He returned to America to die, forgotten.

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